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likewise) not knowing how to recompence your kindnes. it is more then we have deserved at your hands.

Touching those which came unto us in ther pertickular, we have received them in as kindly maner as we could, according to our abilitie, and offered them as favorable termes as we could touching their footing with us. yett they are sundrie of them discouraged I know not whether by the countrie (of which they have no triall) or rather for want of those varietis which England affords, from which they are not yet wayned, and being so delitefull to nature cannot easily be forgotten without a former groundred r[esolu]tion. but as they were welcome when they came, [so sh]all they be when they goe, if they thinke it not for their g[oo]d, though we are most glad of honest mens companie; and loath to part from the same.

Thus againe giveing you hartie thanks for your loveing affections and large hands extended unto us, we rest your loving freinds to use,

WILLIAM BRADFORD, Governor

PLIMOTH

ISAAC ALLERTON, Assistant

September 8

1623

2. *Letters of Samuel Cooper to Thomas Pownall, 1769-1777.*¹

The following letters of the Reverend Samuel Cooper relate to public affairs in the American colonies before the outbreak of the Revolution and during the war. As far as the present writer is aware they are now for the first time printed.

In the library of George III., presented to the nation by George IV., is a manuscript volume (British Museum, King's MSS. 201) comprising "Original Letters, from Dr. Franklin to the Reverend Doctor Cooper, Minister of the Gospel in the Town of Boston in New England, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, and 1774, upon the subject of American Politics." With this volume are two others, bound and lettered in the same style, the one containing original letters from Governor Pownall to Dr. Cooper (*ibid.*, 202), and the other, drafts and copies, in his own handwriting, of letters from Dr. Cooper to Dr. Franklin and Governor Pownall (*ibid.*, 203). A fourth volume (*ibid.*, 204) contains copies of Cooper's letters to Franklin, Franklin's letters to Cooper (except that of December 30, 1770), and all but two of Pownall's to Cooper, the letters of Cooper to Pownall being omitted.²

¹ A brief notice of Samuel Cooper may be found in Vol. VI., p. 301, of the REVIEW.

² Preceding the transcripts in the last-mentioned volume is a short history of these letters, which runs as follows:

"Account of the manner in which the following Letters came into the hands of the Person who now possesses them.

"Immediately after the Affair of Lexington, which happened upon the 19th of

Pownall's twenty-six letters to Cooper, comprising "the newly discovered evidence" of Frederick Griffin, may be found published, generally entire, in that author's *Junius Discovered* (Boston and London, 1854). Cooper's letters to Pownall, fourteen in number, beyond an occasional extract, have not, as far as the present writer can learn, been heretofore printed. The first letter here printed, dated "Boston Feby. 18. 69." and the last one, dated "28. March 1777," are in the possession of Mr. Marvin M. Taylor of Worcester, Massachusetts.

FREDERICK TUCKERMAN.

I. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

Dear Sir,

BOSTON Feby. 18. 69.

I am now to acknowledg the Favor of your Letters of the 16 and 20th of Nov'r last, and to Thank you for the kind and particular In- April, 1775, the Town of Boston was surrounded by the Rebels and all intercourse with the Country was cut off. Those who were in the Town were not allowed to quit it without the permission of the commander in chief, and no person was allowed to pass the lines to go into the country without first being searched by Officers appointed by the General for that purpose. At this time many of the leading Men of the disaffected party were still in the Town, and among the rest the Revd. Dr. Cooper, Minister of the Gospel to one of the Religious Societies in that town, a Man of great weight and influence among the people, who admired him as much for his Abilities, as they respected him on account of his Holy profession, and his exemplary life and conversation. He, with many others, made immediate application for leave to quit the Town, and obtained a Passport for that purpose.

"At this time he had in his possession the Originals of the following Letters from Dr. Franklin, together with the original draughts of his Answers, and a great number of Letters from Gov. Pownall, written the same time, upon the same subject, with the draughts of all his answers to them. Being unwilling to destroy these papers, and afraid of detection if he attempted to take them with him through the Lines, he determined to leave them behind in the hands of a confidential friend, with directions to forward them to him by the first safe conveyance. He accordingly packed them all up together in a bundle, and sent them to Mr. Jeffries, one of the selectmen of Boston, who at that time was sick, and unable to leave the Town. He was confined to his bed, when these papers were brought to him; they were therefore put by in a trunk which contained other things of his own. As soon as Mr. Jeffries was recovered from his illness, he left the Town, and followed the rest of his Party into the Country.

"His son, Dr. John Jeffries, who is now one of the Surgeons to the Hospital at New York, not choosing to take part in the Rebellion, refused to accompany his father into the Country. With this Son he left everything that he could not take with him, and among other things the beforementioned trunk, either not knowing or forgetting that it contained a treasure belonging to his friend. This trunk remained near a year in Dr. Jeffries' possession without his knowing what it contained, till, upon the evacuation of Boston in the month of March following, collecting his effects in order to embark with them for Hallifax, he accidentally discovered this packet of Letters, and finding them interesting, took care to preserve them. From Hallifax he brought them with him to London in January last [1777, Ellis; 1779, Sabine], and made a present of them to Mr. Thompson [presumably Benjamin Thompson, later created Count Rumford], who now presumes most humbly to lay them at His Majesty's feet, as a literary, as well as a political curiosity."

¹ At the head of the original of this letter is written, "Letter 4th. To Tho^s Pownall Esq^r. Copy." Thomas Pownall, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., statesman and antiquary, was

formation you have given me of Affairs relating to America, and this Province in particular. As I am fully persuaded both of your Ability and Inclination to serve us, and have heard with much Pleasure of your friendly Exertions on our Behalf, I shall omit no¹ Endeavors of my own, as far as they will go to enlarge your Opportunities of shewing your Kind Regard to us. I have made, and shall continue to make the best Use of your Letters to this End, and at the same Time in so cautious a manner as to avoid ev'ry Inconvenience to you. — The Agents for America, I am afraid have not thoroly done their Duty to their Constituents. De Berdt² has grossly fail'd respecting the Petitions committed to his Care — I am told it was asserted in Parliament, in Favor of the Secretary of State, that the Petition of y³ House was never given to him ; nor can I learn that this was contradicted, tho the Agent wrote the Speaker that He had offered it to His Lordship. — The Province is certainly much oblig'd to you for the sound Advice you gave him respecting the Petition of the Convention,⁴ and his not acting according to it, at such a Crisis appears to me unpardonable, and has lost him much Confidence here. I was surprised to see the Complexion of the Thing such after the Petition had got home, and the good Conduct and Effect of the Convention were known, as also the Testimony of the Council to the good Order of the Town ; and am afraid this was owing to uncandid and exaggerated Accounts transmitted from hence, and too easily credited by Administration. The People of this Town and Province, are under this great Disadvantage, that living so distant from the great Fountain of Government, they Know not what has been alledg'd against them, nor in what Light their Conduct has been plac'd, and consequently it is out of their Pow'r to vindicate themselves till the Misrepresentation has had its Effect. — In political Contests, of so important a Nature as the present, between Britain and the Colonies, is it just that Government should act upon Accounts stated ex parte ; for such we may suppose many of the Accounts receiv'd at the great offices from the immediate Servts of the Crown, and industriously conceal'd

born at Lincoln about 1722, and graduated at Cambridge in 1743. Ten years later he came to America as private secretary to Sir Danvers Osbotn, Bart., royal governor of New York. In 1755 he was appointed commissioner for Massachusetts ; and in 1757 succeeded General Shirley as governor of that province. In 1759 he was appointed governor of South Carolina, but he never assumed the government of that colony. In 1760 he returned to England, and sat in Parliament first for the Cornish borough of Tregony, and subsequently for Minehead, Somerset. He died at Bath, February 25, 1805. Pownall was a staunch friend to the American colonies, and as a member of Parliament strenuously opposed the ministerial measures against them. He protested against the war with America, predicting the consequences which followed. For some further account of him see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XLVI, pp. 264–268. A list of his writings may be found in the appendix to *Junius Discovered*, by Griffin.

¹ After this the word “opportunity” is written and stricken out. Other erasures of this kind have been made, but have not been transferred in publication.

² Dennis De Berdt, colonial agent in England for the Massachusetts assembly.

³ This word may be “ye,” *i. e.*, “the” and perhaps it should be printed “the” here.

⁴ The convention of September 22, 1768. See Frothingham, *Life of Warren*, 86–96.

from the People who are essentially interested in them ; Ought not the People to be made acquainted with these Accounts, and invited to vindicate themselves as far as they can, before Decisions are founded upon them that must affect their most important Interests — I find it has been receiv'd among you, as an undoubted Fact, that the Convention was called by the Town of Boston, upon the Precedent of 1688 — on Supposition of the Dissolution of Government, and with Intention to erect a new one — Had this been true, I should not wonder at the Resentment expres't against the Town of Boston, and the Circular Letter of the Selectmen. But this is far from the Truth — I never heard that they intended to proceed upon such a Ground, till it came from your Side the Water, suggested I believe from hence — The Letter mentions no such Thing — and it was, I am persuaded, far from the Intention of those who propos'd and carried that measure. If the Proceedings of the Convention were legal, innocent, and even meritorious, as I think they were, so were those of the Town of Boston, and of the Selectmen, that made Way for the Convention — The Design of it was, to calm the People, to prevent Tumults, to recognize the Authority of Government by humble Remonstrances and Petitions, and to lead the People to seek Redress only in a Constitutional Way. The discerning who promoted this Measure, saw that it must have this Effect. Had any Thing been intended in Opposition to Government, common Sense would have forbid the Calling the Members to assemble in this Capital, where all they said and did must be Known, and would have left them to act more secretly, and effectually in the several Districts where they had Influence — The Publicity of the Meeting, was consider'd as the surest Pledg of the Prudence and good Temper of their Proceedings. Candor would have thus represented it to Administration. I have nothing to say, as to the Propriety of the Vote respecting Arms — It had an ill Appearance upon which Account I dislike'd it ; but that was all. it was strictly legal — For it was not, as has been maliciously represented, a Resolution to *take up* Arms, but only to comply with a *Law* that *oblige*s the Inhabitants to be *provided with* them. There was at that Time, not only a *Report*, but a General *Apprehension* of a War with France — Some however, I do believe were in Favor of this Vote, not Knowing what Excesses the Troops that were then expected might commit, and because they judg'd it expedient for the Inhabitants at such a Juncture to avail themselves of the Privilege given them by Law, and that a public Declaration of this might be a Security to them.

Mr. Greenville's Pamphlet is in many Places rather plausible than solid — Your Note is handsom[?] and conclusive — It is strange that we should be represented as paying no Taxes, because we avoid as much as may be, Duties and Burdens upon Trade, and make prompt Payment ; — that a Necessity for Paper money should be be consider'd as a Mark of our Riches, and that a Tax should be propos'd to be laid on America, an infant Country, twice as large as upon Ireland, an old Kingdom, of

establish'd Manufactures — that the [*illegible*] of Woollen Manufactures, should be held out as a Douceur to the last, and nothing but a severely restricted Trade to poor America. — A larger Quantity of British Goods were imported into America, the Year of the Stamp Act than in the succeeding ones, because the Merchants here gave Orders to their Correspondents, in Case they apprehended the Repeal would take Place, to ship a more than common Quantity of Goods; because the Act had given a start to American Manufactures wch was perceptible the next year and still further promoted by subsequent Acts of the same Spirit: so that Facts truly stated are directly repugnant to the Author's Argument. Manufactures daily advance among us: Hundreds of the Troops station'd here have already deserted, delighted with the Country, and mixing with its Inhabitants, carrying useful Arts and Trades as well as military Skill, wherever they go — In short, ev'ry hard Measure from Britain, reacts upon itself; and true Policy respecting America seems to have forsaken your Councils.

I have heard that when the Secretary of State was pres't in Parliament, upon American Measures, it was said in his Vindication, that the Order to dissolve the Assembly in Case of Non rescinding, was never design'd as a Threat to a Corporation; that being address'd to the Governor, as a Direction to his Conduct alone, it could by no Means be consider'd in that light; and that another Assembly must of Course meet in May — But the Governor laid this Order before the Assembly, declaring himself indispensably oblig'd to obey it — It had therefore as much Effect upon their Deliberations as if it had been adres't immediately to them. The House desiring a short Recess, to consult their Constituent upon so important a Point, were refus'd — Nay when they only took a few days to deliberate upon it, the Governor grew impatient, and told them in a Message, that He expected an immediate Decision, and should regard a longer Hesitation as an absolute Denial, and proceed accordingly — Was all this no Threat to a Corporation — ¹

II. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

May 11th 1769

My Dear Sir.

I am extremely obliged to you for the trouble you have given yourself, so particularly to inform me of Affairs in which America is interested. I have receiv'd your Letters of 30 Jan^y [and] 13 Feb^y [and those of] 19, 21, 22 March² have been deliver'd to me. I wrote you by Capt. Hall, and Scot, who both promised me very particularly to deliver my Letters into your own Hand. Tho I suppose by your Letters, that some have not fulfill'd their engagements to me upon this Head. I shall however take the best care I am able in this Point for the Time to come. Ev'ry

¹ The remainder of this letter is missing. With a few exceptions Dr. Cooper's drafts or copies are signed by him, either in full or with his initials.

² All of the letters here mentioned, except that of March 21, are printed by Griffin in *Junius Discovered*.

American and indeed ev'ry Friend to the true Interest of the Nation is indebted to you for your Speech in Parliament upon the Resolution in which you united Reasoning and Eloquence with a precise Knowledge of Facts. But I'm afraid that some on your Side the water do not wish that things should be view'd in a clear and just Point of Light, they have taken their Part, and know not how to recede, and seem determin'd to use their utmost efforts to support the credit of their Representations, upon which they have hastily founded their Sentiments and Conduct — Measures that have been gone into thro Mistakes and from *false Lights* held out to leading men, must be maintain'd and perserver'd in for the Sake of Dignity, as if it could be for the Honor or Support of Government to persist in Error.

Your Speech which was soon Publish'd and dispers'd among us, tho not from the copy sent me, which came later than some others, is much admir'd among us, and regarded as a Proof of your Knowledge Public Business, and of your Zeal for the Welfare of both countries. But tho there is nothing in it, that I can discern, to give the least Umbrage to the warmest Friends of Government, yet I suspect that ev'ry Part of it is not highly relish'd by some few among us, who are fond of Assuming this character, and are for — having ev'ry thing carried with a high Hand. On the other Side, some are jealous that from your concessions on the Head of *external* Taxes you meant the Establishment of a *Revenue*, on Port Duties, which they say would not be going back to the old Ground: inasmuch as before the Stamp Act: Parliament evidently intended nothing more than a *simple regulation* of Trade for the Benefit of the whole as a Proof of which they allidg, that the Duties rais'd by the Molasses Act were consider'd only as Perquisites to the Officers here, and not appropriated to any use by Parliament, or bro't into the accounts of the Exchequer — In the observations on the state of the Nation, said here to be M^r Rourkes, it is remark'd if I mistake not, that a Country from which Britain reaps the Fruits of a double Monopoly, that of all its Imports and all its exports, can never in true Policy be consider'd as the Object of Taxation — These Monopolies must draw from it all it can yield: and if they are not strictly Taxes, they certainly include all Taxes. So that Government may take the *old Ground* with ev'ry advantage to itself — The Gentlemen of the convention and particularly the Selectmen of Boston are greatly oblig'd to you for your Candid and accurate Vindication of them, from these artful and cruel Misrepresentations which aim'd at nothing Short of involving them in the Penalties of Treason — Tho there is not a man among us, but must be convinc'd in his own Mind, from the open Part which they took, and from other circumstances that these Gentlemen were not apprehensive that they were doing anything illegal. I cannot think of the Malignity of some among us, without Detestation and Horror.

I do not wonder that the nullum Tempus Bill, was not consider'd as extending to America; nor am I surpris'd after what has taken place; that it made a Question whether any of the great acts, that guard the

Liberties of the Subject do thus extend an unbounded Pow'r, can do anything with us. It can create and annihilate us as often as it Pleases, whom we are to obey, it can make us absolutely and completely British Subjects: when we claim a Privelege it can as easily unmake us. How dreadfully precarious is such a condition, and can any Man imagine, that so great a Part of the Nation, as now inhabits America, and that is rapidly growing, to an equality in Numbers with those within the Realm, can be contented with such a Situation, while they have as thoro an understanding as high a value for the Rights of the British Constitution as any who enjoy them: We must be plac'd upon a broader and firmer Bottom than we stand at present or Things will inevitably tumble into confusion — I am oblig'd to you for the copy Inclos'd of the Mutiny Bill, it being the only one in the Place. — I read it to General Mackay,¹ who arrived about a Fortnight ago. — The alterations which you originated have greatly amended the act — But the passing a Law here for the Purpose Mention'd, is like to meet with opposition upon two accounts; because we have never made an act the operations of which is to be *Suspended* till it be confirm'd by the King; and because People will be extremely jealous of anything that shall look like a conceding to the establishment of an Army among us in Time of Peace. — For the same Reasons as because the Troops were quarter'd in this Town in direct opposition to act of Parliament, our assembly will thoroly deliberate I imagine before they give any Money towards the Support of these Troops in their present Situation. Many I am persuaded w'd chose to have their Money taken from them by Force, rather than give the Sanction of their own consent, to the Maintenance of an Army sent among us under Pretence of aiding the civil Magistrates, while they protested ag'st it, and which threatens to overthrow the constitution.

I enclose you the Instruction of the Town of Boston, from which you may judg of the general Disposition of the whole Province: and how far the late measures are likely to soften us to any concession — Our Merchs stand firm to their agreement respecting Non Importation of Goods.² Some who had goods sent contrary to expectation, have readily resign'd them to a committee of the Body. — a few who never enter'd into the agreement and have imported a small Quantity, have their Names publish'd in Hand Billits, to their great vexation, because they know it is the Spirit of the People in the country as well as Town not to purchase of them. For which Purpose Engagements will be form'd among the Purchasers of Connecticut and N. Hampshire as well as this Province. Ill Humers if violently repell'd at one avenue do naturally break out at

¹ Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Alexander Mackay arrived in Boston with the troops from Ireland in November, 1768, being at that time in command of the 65th Regiment. He returned to England the following August. See *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 6th Series, IX. 170, note.

² The merchants and traders of Boston had entered into an agreement not to import goods from Great Britain, and further agreed that no goods should be sent from Boston until the revenue acts had been repealed, and so notified De Berdt, the agent of the colony in England. See *Mem. Hist. Boston*, III. 29, note.

another, till there is a radical cure. The same Firmness is discover'd by the Merchants at N. York and some that have imported there, have Solemnly engag'd to send back their goods while we are thus stopping our Importation

Manufactories continually increase among us ; We are ambitious of being clad in our own Produce ; and the invention of a Sagacious and injur'd People quite thro this extended Continent is now upon the Stretch, to find out ways and means to supply themselves, and diminish the commercial advantage Britain has reaped from them. — This is indeed an unnatural state — But we have been drove to it, and if the Presure continues the state will become natural by Habit, and the Tree will break before it is made strait again. In the Mean Time the Figure and Influence of the Nation is impair'd — The weight of Negotiation is lost. — It is understood that Peace must be preserv'd upon any Terms with Foreign Pow'rs. — The Manilla Ransom must and other Points Perhaps of greater importance must be wav'd from confessed Weakness. This indited new Insults and Infractions of Treaties — and precipitates rather than protract a dreaded War — And for what are the Foundations thus out of course? Sovereignty you always had and might continue to have ; ev'ry good and valuable Purpose — nor can the Colonies be more useful upon any Plan than that upon wch they stood from the Beginning and is [it] worth while to incur such capital Distresses for the sake of a Shadow : or to Support a few unworthy Servants of the Crown, whose Avarice, paltry Ambition, and base Misrepresentations, have shook the Empire, and essentially injur'd the Service of that good Prince, they were under ev'ry obligation to promote. —

Governor Bernard is still convinc'd as we [*illegible*] to sooth us, on Doubt into compliance, — and employ his great Interest with the People for the service of the Crown. strange that He should seem so loth to leave a country He has so grossly injur'd and abus'd, and He has indeed essentially tho undesignedly Serv'd us — Had he been wise and smooth and known how to have establish'd himself upon a broad Bottom, our Liberties might have been lost without a strougle The assembly I believe will keep up as firm a Tone as any former ones ; and the Council will be more than ever united with the House and the People — For this we are greatly indebted to the Governor —

From what you dropt in your last letter, I expect the Agency would not now be agreeable to you ; as it would give me great Pleasure to have you in that important Trust, but much more to see you again at the Head of the Province, as no man would be more likely to heal our Wounds, and essentially to promote the service of both Countries — The Rev'd M^r Moore, Presbyterian Minister of Hallifax, promises to deliver this to you with his own Hand — He goes to Sollicit Aid for the poor Ministers at N. Scotia : He is well recommended, and His Success in this affair seems to me of no small Importance to the Support of this declining Province.

To T. Pownall Esq^r

III. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL

July 12. 1769

Sir

I wrote you the 11th May acknowledging the receipt of several Letters from you ; and again about the middle of June, which I hope you have receiv'd—D^r [Franklin] favor'd me with Notes of what you deliver'd in Parliament, in favor of a Repeal of the Revenue Act. Whatever might have been said in reply to this Speech I am persuaded it was never Answer'd ; The Force of your Arguments appears to me irresistible ; and they who were for delaying this just and wise measure to a more *convenient* Season, will never I believe fine [*sic*] such an one. I have made the best and most prudent use of these Notes, allowing some Friends, and the Speaker¹ of the House among others, to communicate them as they tho't might be of advantage, but have suffer'd no Part to be copied, or appear in Print, less thro the Baseness of the Times it might be improv'd to your Disadvantage—I gave in my last an account of the Transactions of the Court at their first coming together ; you will see by the Replys not only of the lower House but of both Houses to the Governors Messages and by the Resolutions, the Temper that prevails it is as I told you it would be, more rais'd and fir'd, by ill Treatment.

The assembly have been greatly divided about the affair of an Agent

It has been generally tho't necessary that a Person should be sent from hence, in that character to be join'd by another on y^r side the Water, to guard ag'st any Misrepresentation of Facts by G. B.² But they have been far from agreeing who these Persons should be. Several leading men among us it is tho't, have secretly desir'd the Trust and have travers'd one another. The Council are zealous for M^r Bollaⁿ,³ with whose service particularly in procuring authentic copies of Bernards and Gage's Letters, they are extremely pleas'd—Finding they were not like to obtain his Election by your Ballot with the House they unanimously [chose] him as Agent for the Council. — The House have chosen none, and I am told are not like to agree upon any, so the Speaker is desir'd to send their Papers to whom He pleases, and as he is connected with Deberdt who has still a considerable Interest, He it is probable will be the Person. Thus the Matter stands at present. — How long it will remain so I pretend not to say. But however divided they are in this Point, they were never so much united in the great American Cause, and in the Resolutions they were unanimous. If any of them appears harsh, you must impute it to the Severity with which we have been treated and the irritation produc'd, and continu'd by the ill conduct of some to whom the business of the Crown has been committed.

¹ Thomas Cushing was speaker of the Massachusetts assembly.

² Sir Francis Bernard, Bart., from 1760 to 1771 governor of the province of Massachusetts.

³ William Bollaⁿ, for some years agent in England for the province, and afterwards agent for the Council alone.

Great Part of the Navy and Army are leaving us with the Governor and General Mackay. The Lieut. Governor's Conduct, relative to some causes that have come before the supreme Court, in which Military Officers are concern'd, have greatly increas'd a Dissaffection to him. A specimen Copy of the Resolutions before they were finish'd by the House. appear'd in Print, one of which seem'd to claim all Legeslative Authority in Parliament over the Colonies. The Governor immediately sent the Secretary to the Speaker for an authentic Copy. He replied that the resolutions were still under the consideration of the House, and not compleated and that what had appear'd in Print was imperfect and not genuine. I mention this least any advantage c'd be taken of this circumstance. I send you a copy of the Council's Letter etc upon Governor Bernard's Representation, the Baseness of which cannot but be universally detested

I am Sir

To Governor Pownall

Mem

Wrote by Col^o Hoar July 26. by the Ripper Man of War

IV. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

BOSTON, Sept 8. 69

Sir

In one of my late Letters, I gave you a short account, how the affair of an Agent was conducted in the Assembly ; but lest that Letter should Miscary, I think it not amiss to Mention this Matter again : The council some of whom have Family connections with M^r Bollan being highly pleas'd with his service in behalf of the Colonies, and on their *own Principles* particularly his procuring authentic copies of Letters laid before Parliament, were disirous he should be appointed agent for the Province, and accordingly with this view propos'd to join the House in a choice ; But apprehending they were not like to carry this Point, they soon relinquish'd the proposal of a joint Ballot, and chose him as Agent for the Council, Meaning by this step to testify their regard to him, and secure him some public character, and hoping to induce the House afterwards to make the same choice. But not withstanding the very popular Point of procuring the Letters, no Interest could be made in the House for M^r Bollan as agent, M^r Bowdoin was much talk'd of as a proper Person to take off any Misrepresentation of the Town and Province etc. and [it] was confidently expected by almost all out of Doors that He w'd be unanimously chosen But he was not fond of this Trust himself, his Family connections were also against it for the Difficulty of Satisfying Peoples expectations in such a business. In the House it was objected privately that he was a Manager of the Plymouth company, who were endeavoring to carry the Trial of real estate before the King in Council — In Truth the Leaders in the House were suppos'd at Bottom to have an Inclination for this Trust, at least the *offer of it*. If this was the case as

I believe, they thoroly counter work'd and disapointed each other: so that at the close of the session, they appear'd to care a little about the Matter: and spoke of an Agent as unnecessary, and the House left it with the Speaker to write to whom he pleas'd but soon after appointed De berdt for another year.

Many among us are of opinion that it would be best for the Colonies to have no Agent and concern ourselves no more about Remonstrances and Petitions, which have had hitherto so little effect, and to leave the Ministry to procure their own measures till they find themselves like Governor Bernard *at the end of their Tether*, to which if I mistake not they are by this Time very near if not quite arriv'd — Our General Court was prorogu'd by S^r Francis, before he left us till January.¹ He is gone home with high expectations of improving the Proceeding of last sessions greatly to our Prejudice; and since his departure we have had copies of Letters of His and others from him and others w^{ch} discover as base and infamous a Design, to compass the ruin of the Province as perhaps any History can parrallel. M^r Hutchinson² when assuming the chair, made a soft complaisent speech to the Council and is prudent en'o not to have so many Councils as in the late administration upon trifling occasions, and beneath the Dignity of such a Body. He would be glad not to [be] tho't by the People to have been very closely connected with S^r Francis etc; but he will find it hard to effect this; and He had indeed not many warm Friends, who were not friendly to the other: so that without a change of Measures at home He will not be able to do much in Favor of Government or to negotiate such ground as you hint it has been led to expect.

Our Merchs. remain firm, you teach us to live more and more within ourselves. Your own Troubles I find increase ev'ry year bring you nearer to War; and almost ev'ry measure has given the enemies of the Nation an advantage a Rupture will at once shew the true state of Britain, and it will awake like Sampson shorn of his strength. But I check myself.

And am dear Sir

To Pownall

V. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

BOSTON N. E. 1 Jan^r 1770

Dear Sir.

By your last Letters of Sept 25³ I have the Pleasure to find you were safe arriv'd from Ireland: I do not wonder that the Patriots of [that] Kingdom have a sympathy for America. Common Dangers and

¹ "When the Massachusetts Assembly, sitting at Cambridge, had refused to grant the supplies demanded by Bernard, that functionary prorogued it to the tenth of January. When that date arrived, Hutchinson, under arbitrary instructions from Hillsborough, prorogued it still further to the middle of March." *Mem. Hist. Boston*, III. 28.

² Thomas Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor.

³ There are two letters from Governor Pownall of this date, both printed in Griffin, *l. c.*, 235 ff.

Suffering are apt to unite us, and however free the ruling Nation may be in itself, it behoves the state dependent upon, jointly to guard against encroaching Pow'r. It has been observ'd, however it comes to pass, that the Provinces of a free Nation have commonly much less privilege in comparison with their Fellow Subjects, than those that belong to an arbitrary Prince. Ireland I have ever tho't, has had hard measures, but the Priveledge of granting their own property is still left—should this Natural this constitutional, this unalienable Right be ever torn from these Colonies, I do believe we should be as oppres't and miserable a People as any under Heav'n. Those who profit of the Revenue here would continually employ their invention to enlarge it, without regard to the abilities or Inclinations of the People, to propose new Burdens, new ways and means, and new Securities for the collection, Government would confide generally in its servants here, and see with their eyes, and our remonstrances coming from a distant People, cold upon Paper, and from a People represented as disaffected, would avail little. You cannot wonder that the most sober among us shudder at the most distant prospect of such a situation. We are sensible that before the late Revenue Acts, we were upon a better Footing than that of Ireland, but should the entring wedg remain we shall soon be in a much worse. And we do not wish for an establishment like Ireland Secretary, Secretary Oliver,¹ who has lately been at N. York upon the affair of the Line between that Province and N. Jersey has shewn me a Plan, or rather a few general Propositions for the settlement of America, which he tells me some Gentlemen in that city are fond of, and have wrote home to their Friends to bring forward.—These Propositions have never appear'd in Print: they are not known here; nor have I ever heard of them but from the Secretary.—They mean to establish an *American Parliament*, chosen by the general Legislatures of the Colonies. I have no expectation from this Proposal, imagining it would neither be agreeable to Government at home, from the union it proposes, nor to the Generality here for other reasons, whatever may be suggested by Individuals from this side the Water, the Body of the People are for recurring to first Principles—The old establishment upon which they have grown and Flourish'd. The Charter of W^m and M. gives ev'ry reasonable security to the Nation and Government; for our Subordination—No Mony can be rais'd, no Act pass'd but by the consent of the Governor appointed by the King. Should a disagreeable Act escape it can be annihilated by the King in Council. Moreover the Disposal of Offices civil and Military by the Governor creates a great Interest among ourselves, and even in the Representatives of the People on the side of Prerogative. I might Mention, but need not to you, have said so much. What addition can be made in Equity or Policy to all this; and yet many People seem to imagine that if the Colonies should obtain what they have petition'd for, they must imme-

¹ Andrew Oliver (Harvard College, 1724) was a member of the council from 1746 to 1765, and secretary of the province from 1756 to 1770. In 1771 he succeeded Hutchinson as lieutenant-governor.

diately become independent. When indeed we wish nothing remov'd but innovations and innovations that experience has prov'd to be prejudicial to both countries ; and wish those securities to remain to the Nation, which our establishment, plann'd by some of the wisest men that ever adorn'd that Nation gives ; and which are really the firmest and best that can possibly be given. It is extremely dangerous to touch Foundations — and by resuming any Previlidge granted to the People by original Charters, they may be led to infer that the Restriction on themselves provided for in the same Charters are also vacated.

I have endeavor'd to avail myself of your Letters for the Good of my Country — The Sentiments were so just and Striking that I could not forbear to publish a good Part of them, tho not in the form of an extract from a Letter ; and carefully concealing except from a trusty few, the Hand from whence they came. Not that there was anything thro the whole that would not do you honor, had you been known as the author, but in these Times, I chose to err respecting my Friends on the safe side.

I have wrote you fully upon the affairs of Agency for this Province — Tho I tho't the assembly would do Honor to themselves, and greatly promote the service of this Country by appointing one to this Trust, whose administrations had so happily united the Interest of the Crown and People, yet when I found the leading men among us look'd at it for themselves, I could not wish you to be dishonor'd by being canvas'd for Diberdt was nam'd at Last, and consider'd not as a negotiator, but meerly as a carrier, or Presenter of Letters etc. It is now I find, consider'd as dangerous, by some men of Influence to have any Provincial Agent at all with such Pow'r as formerly given — They say it is inconsistent to object against Representatives in Parliament, and yet put the Province, as it were, into the Pocket of one man, upon whom the Governor has a negative, that the Agent for N. York is appointed only by the Lower House, and that the want of Authority in such an appointment here, was first started by S^t Francis, and adopted by the Ministry only as a Protest. All this is objected to Bollan, who has prest strongly for more Pow'r, and notwithstanding some warm Friends in the Council will not be able I believe to carry this Point. In his Letter upon this Head, he has given a copy of his former Authorisation which is alarming great, and allow'd him to appear and *Act* for the Province, and in its Name, and in its Behalf, in all cases touching its Interests — The leading men in the House as far as I can discern are not for forming any dangerous alliances, nor throwing themselves into the arms of any Party on your side the Water : and some are ready to wish that we had not even the appearance of an Agent, nor the Form of any kind of negotiations, chosing rather to leave the American Cause to its own Weight.

Our Merchants continue their Resolution not to import, except two or three, whose Dealing are small, and who, perhaps, may soon be discourag'd. — Not long since they came into an agreement not to import till the Duties on Molasses, Sugar etc. as well as the other Revenue Acts should be repeal'd — But the Merchants at Philadelphia etc. not chosing

to alter their first agreement, promising at the same Time, to unite in any future Measures that might be judg'd expedient for the removing ev'ry grievance, our Merchants for the sake of Preserving Union reverted to their former Stipulations. We are just inform'd that the assembly of N. York, has voted by a Majority of one, Supplies to the Troops. This occasion'd great Uneasiness among the People Many hundreds of whom assembled in the Fields, and expres't their Dislike of this Measure. S^c Carolina Assembly has refus'd to make this Provision : and the present House of this Province will remain, I am persuaded, fix'd in their Resolution upon this Point. Tho had they not been wro't up by S^t Francis¹ to an high Temper, they would have refus'd, so warmly, and with such Peremptoriness. I am asham'd of the Neglect of our Selectmen in not writing you.— Writing is not their Talent, and I can venture to affirm that their silence is owing to Inattention, and not to want of Regard to you, and a grateful sense of your important services to them and to their country. We are all highly oblig'd to you, and your generous concern for us, will we hope continue these services — I shall write you the Proceedings of the General Court, when it meets. The L^d Governor, it is said, will interpose for removing the main guard from the Door of the Court House ; but if the Troops remain in Town, I believe the House will do no business in it. We consider this Metropolis, and indeed the whole Province under Duress. The Troops greatly corrupt our Morals and are in ev'ry sense an oppression. May Heav'n soon deliver *us* from this great Evil, and grant to you and yours ev'ry Blessing.

I am my Dear Sir with great Regard and affection

Your Most Obdt. hum^{ble} Servt

SAM^l COOPER

Governor Pownall.

Mem.

Sent with this Observations of the Merchs on Act of Trade to M^r Pownall and D^r Franklin

VI. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

BOSTON Jan^y 30 1770

Dear Sir

I wrote you by Capt Hall the 30th of this Month, who promis'd to deliver it with his own Hand. I then told you that the agreement of the Merchs here stood firm, tho the high Party here have promis'd themselves the Pleasure of being able to write an account of its Dissolution before now. Great efforts have indeed been made for this, but hitherto they have been dissappointed — and the Spirit of Non-Importation rather rises than abates. Not long ago the two elder sons² of His Honor the Lieut Governor, Merchants secretly remov'd and sold some Tea w^{ch} they had agreed with the Merchs. to store, and of w^{ch} they had given the Keys This gave an alarm. The Merchs. call'd a Meeting of all

¹ Sir Francis Bernard, the governor.

² Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson.

connected with Trade. This Meeting was large, and increas'd rather than diminish'd by adjournments. The Lieut. Governor soon call'd his council to oppose them: He propos'd a Proclamation to be issu'd ag'st them, as an illegal Assembly: and then that a Message to the same Purpose, s'd be sent them in the Name of the Governor and Council, neither of w'ch with all his address c'd be obtain'd by Him. The Meeting voted to proceed orderly and peaceably in a Body to the House of the Hutchinsons, and some others who had violated their own Voluntary engagements with the Trade: five of the Body were appointed to treat, the rest were to observe a profound silence, w'ch they did. When they came to the Lieut. Governor's House, none of them were allow'd to enter, but his Honor threw up the Window, and appear'd as the principal negotiator. His Honor seem'd willing to consider them as making a tumultuous and threatning application to him as Governor. The Gentlemen observ'd that they came there, not to treat with him, but as the Dwelling of his sons, and reminding him of their dishonorable Violation of their own contract, in w'ch their Honor was depended on. He observ'd, that a contract without a valuable consideration was not valid in Law. Upon the whole the sons refus'd to give any Satisfaction to the Merchs. The evening following His Honor was in great Perplexity, and early the next Morning He sent for M^r Phillips the Moderator of the Meeting, and engag'd on the Part of his sons, that the Tea s'd be return'd and a sum of Money in the Room of what was sold. This was immedi ally [*sic*] reported to the Meeting and accepted. Afterwards He was greatly embarrass'd, sensible that He and his sons were consider'd as the chief Bulwark of those who wish'd to see the Merchants agreement annihilated. He was blam'd for appearing below His Dignity as a negotiator in this business, His sons were blam'd even by his own Friends for their inconsistent and Dishonorable conduct with the Merchs: The commissioners¹ were offended with what they call'd his weakness in this Instance, declaring that he had now given the reins of Government into the Hands of the People, and that he c'd never recover them: — His Unpopularity is increas'd by this Step, He being consider'd as the first Governor upon the continent who has publicly and Directly oppos'd Himself to the Meeting of the Merchs as illegal. He told M^r Phillips He was ruin'd — The Point was however gain'd by the Merchs., and He could not go back. All that remain'd was to exert himself in council to obtain a Discountenancing such Meetings: and after having wrote to the Body, without the consent of the Council, by Dint of Importunity one Gentleman was gain'd over, and a majority was procur'd for a kind of adoption² of what He had written. The meeting went on Steadily with their Business, and then agreed peaceably to disperse. The last Day of their being together, His Honor summon'd a Number of Justices from the Country to attend him; but this step was attended with no advantage to him, on

¹ Commissioners of the customs in Boston. The board consisted of Charles Paxton, Henry Hulton, William Burch, John Robinson, and John Temple.

² Adaption?

the contrary it disgusted the Town, and particularly the Magistrates of it; and even the council themselves, who consider'd these Justices as a kind of second Board.

The few who continue to import, and who it is said are secretly supported by great Promises, are avoided more than ever by customers, and grow more obnoxious. In the mean Time our own Manufactures take deeper root, and the necessity of Importing English Goods lessens ev'ry Day, some striking Instances of wch had I Time I c'd give you. The Proroguing our General Court by order at a Time when if ever the Province needs the aid of its grand council, is consider'd as a great Grievance as [a] violent stopping of our complaints, and as a direct violation of our charter, wch provides that this shall be determin'd by the King's Representative upon the spot, according to his own judgment upon the Posture of affairs. Moreover such a step, instead of cooling tends to warm the Members more when they come together, and to heighten a spirit wch the Ministry w'd wish to abate. Upon the whole our uneasiness and those circumstances among us, that tend to the Prejudice of Gt. Britain, are upon the growing hand, and Time will confirm the Truth of what you observ'd the last session of Parliament, that then was the fittest season for establishing the Prosperity of the Empire, by just and mild Measures respecting America.

We are waiting with Impatience to know in w't manner the Ministry will make good the Promises they gave us last Summer of easing the Colonies, and how they will extricate themselves out of the Embarrassments at home. With respect to ourselves, besides the Board of Commissioners, there are three grand Grievances to be redres't. The Revenue Laws; the Unconstitutional Pow'rs of the Admiralty Courts, and the Standing Army in Time of Peace. Either of these remaining with us, will prove a root of Bitterness.

I am Sir, with best wishes to you and yours

Your Most Obedt. hum^{ble} Servt.

S. C.

The Hon^{ble} Thos. Pownall Esq^r:

VII. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

March 26. 1770

Sir

I wrote you not long since on account of the conduct of our Merchants respecting those who had violated their engagements, on the Head of Non-Importation and the Part the L^d Governor took in the affair. This was soon follow'd by the Murder of a Lad^l from the Discharge of a loaded Muskeut, by an infamous informer w'ch wounded another and endanger'd many more, of wch you will no doubt particularly hear even before this can reach you. But nothing we have ever seen has equal'd the Horrors of the Bloody Massacre on the evening of the 5th Instant

¹ Christopher Snider. See *Mem. Hist. Boston*, III. 30.

when a Party of Soldiers with Capt. Preston at their head fir'd upon the Inhabitants in King Street without a civil Magistrate without the least Reason to justify so desperate a step and without any warning given to the People, who could have no apprehension of Danger. The circumstances that preceded, that accompanied, and follow'd this shocking and unexampled scene of Barbarity you will see in the public and authentic accounts w'ch this vessel hir'd by the Town on Purpose to carry.

The Day following, when the Town assembled, and the Governor met his council, with the principal Military Officers the Town prest for a total Removal of the Troops to the Castle, the council unanimously advis'd it, and Col. Dalrymple, the commanding Officer, Signified his readiness, and even appear'd to desire it ; which shows his good Judgment in such a critical circumstance. But the L^d Governor alone was backward would have compounded for one Regiment, and kept the affair in suspense till near night, when he gave way with reluctance. He is by this Time sensible I believe that it is easier to advise and act the second Part in Government, than to stand forward and open in the first Department.

It was a great Favor of Heav'n that the soldiers proceeded no further : That the Inhabitants did not attempt to revenge themselves Instantly ; That the Promise of Justice was immediately perform'd and the Party with the Captain deliver'd up to the civil Magistrates. Had more Blood been shed of which there was the most eminent Hazard in the first Heat and confusion our Brethren in the country, apprehending a general Massacre, being on Tip Toe to come to our Defence, no one can tell where it would have stopt, nor what consequences it would have drawn after it, not only in this but in other Colonies : But a Kind Providence interpos'd for us, and we are now happily deliver'd from that Army, which instead of preserving the Peace among us, has in numerous Instances most audaciously violated it, and instead of Aiding has overaw'd and sometimes even assaulted the civil Magistrates, and Demonstrated how impossible [it] is for Soldiers and Citizens at least in our Circumstances to live together. For these and other reasons we cannot suppose that Troops [will] ever again be quarter'd in the Body of the Town.— I could say much upon this Subject but chose to forbear.

The Commissioners have never held a Board since the late Tragical affair, they have adjourn'd themselves from Time to Time, without consulting M^r Temple ;¹ and have left the Town ever since the Departure of the Soldiers, and tho not the least Injury or Insult has been offer'd either to their Persons or any thing belonging to them, it is tho't that they are now so sensible of the Public Odium, and so tir'd of their employment, as to wish for a Removal. The night after the Massacre, the State and apprehension of the Town absolutely requir'd a strong Military watch : This

¹ John Temple, one of the five commissioners of the board of customs for North America, and after the war consul-general of Great Britain to the United States. He married Elizabeth, only daughter of Governor Bowdoin, and in 1786 succeeded his kinsman, Sir Richard Temple, as eighth baronet of Stowe.

was kept up till the Soldiers had all retir'd to the Castle, and the Town has been quiet and in good order ever since. The Officers with their Servants and Attendants from the Castle pass the Streets night and Day in their Regiments without the least Molestation or Uneasiness.

M^r. Robinson one of the Commissioners sail'd for London more than a week ago. His Intention was kept a profound secret till he had embark'd and was under Sail, this has occasion'd many Conjectures. It is reported among other things that he carries Depositions secretly taken, relating to the firing upon the Inhabitants, and hopes for the advantage of making the first Impression. If it should be represented that there was a great Mob in King Street, and the Custom House attack'd, you may depend upon it nothing can be further from the truth as you will see by the Depositions sent.

Our General Court is now sitting at Cambridg. Both Houses are uneasy at their inconvenient Situation. The Representatives sit in the New Chapel without fire. The L^d Governor pleads an instruction from which he cannot, and the House protests ag^t this as an Infraction of the Charter. They are now proceeding to Business, having as the first step, appointed a Committee of Grievances. Such Prorogations instead of humbling do but increase the Spirit of opposition, and by this Time it must be evident to all, that it is absolutely necessary to restore Harmony and Confidence upon a broad, equal, and Constitutional Basis. It gives me great Joy to hear of your Recovery. May God long confirm your Health, and grant to you and yours all good Things. I am my dear Sir, with the most cordial Attachment

Your Obedt. and hum^{ble} Servt.

To Governor Pownall

S. COOPER.

VIII. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

Dear Sir

BOSTON. July 2. 70

I have receiv'd your repeated Favors, the Dates of which I am not now where I can command, but believe all you have sent have been deliver'd: Tho my ill state of Health and absence from Town have prevented my writing you as I should have done, we are greatly indebted to you for your uncommon services, and unremitted exertion in Parliament, for the joint Interest of Britain and the colonies, for your Speeches — your state of the Colonies, — your attention to the unconstitutional Military Pow'r introduc'd among us in Time of Peace: and your concern that the grand securities of British Liberty may be clearly extended. God prosper and reward your generous Efforts. Your Speech in March I immediately communicated to Speaker Cushing. He admir'd it, and carried it to Cambridg the same Day, and read it to the House — it was heard with great Avidity and Pleasure: and we have seen nothing like it from any Member of Parliament. I am astonish'd however that the Reasoning and Force of Expression should have no greater effect in your H. where they ought to have had the most.

I am astonish'd to find upon Gardiner's arrival, by whom I have receiv'd yours of 11th of May¹ how basely the bloody affair of the 5th March has been Misrepresented in the London Papers. It shows the Malignity of some men against this Town and Province. Those who are capable of giving and supporting such false and cruel Representations are the chief source of the Troubles of both Countries, and considering the Disposition of these Persons the Arts they employ, the attention paid to them (Check'd only now and then by *Facts publish'd to all the O*) and the encouragement given them by *Secreting their Names*, I have small hopes of a speedy and cordial accommodation. If any Person here give true Information of what ought to be known by Governm't, it cannot be to their Dishonor. If otherwise, they ought to be expos'd, what chance have we, in our present critical situation, if men disaffected to the Country in general may accuse us, and give a Malevolent Turn to ev'ry Incident, while we can neither know the Authors, nor the Matter of the accusation. I expect from what has already happen'd, that before this reaches you, you will hear inflam'd accounts of the Treatment the Population have given to the Importers and to the Informers, and of Commissioner Hulton's windows being broke at Brookline. The Town at their Meeting yesterday chose a committee to state these Facts. But not knowing in what Light they will be held up, it is difficult to state circumstances so minutely, as to obviate any Misrepresentation. Thus had we been aware of the shockingly false Idea that would have been given of the Military Execution, The Captains [Captions?] tho sufficient as they now stand to disprove it might have been more clear and ample to this particular Purpose. You will see perhaps Proclamations from the L^d Governor and council upon some of these Disorders, Tho no Proclamation has appear'd at N. York upon Several Occasions at least as important, particularly when M^r Rogers was drove out of that City, as an Importer and oblig'd to fly in the night. I am an enemy to all Disorders, and wish they c'd be prevented. But circumstances are candidly to be consider'd.—and a country distinguish'd from a few obscure Persons in it. When Governm't would enforce Measures that People of all orders apprehend to be unconstitutional, there it will and there perhaps it ought to be weak. The commissioners you know having Tarried some Time in Town after Preston's affair, without the le[a]st affront, retir'd into the Country and held no Board since the Breaking of Hulton's Windows, which notwithstanding the reward offer'd, still remains a Mystery, they have gone to the Castle.—attended by Officers of the Revenue Importers etc. The Castle is no disagreeable situation in the Summer Season, and they expect great things Perhaps from the Retirement. But the Plot will not bear a second Acting. Notwithstanding the Infidelity of a few—the Non-Importation Agreement [?] still Continues. It is got in a great Measure under the controul of the Body of the People thro the Continent. The Importers here, wish'd to be restor'd to the Esteem of their country upon any Terms. M^r Rogers particularly have made the

¹ Printed in Griffin, *l. c.*, 269.

most pressing applications: and Individuals I believe will be less inclin'd than ever to act secretly and separately from the Body — and Bills of Exchange go a begging greatly under Par. Commodore Hood¹ unable to dispose of Bills, has borrow'd £5000 sterl. of the Revenue chest, to pay for the King's works at Hallifax. Instead of being, we are becoming, creditors to your Merchants; and some of us have order'd Money, instead of goods to be remitted.

If you knew all the circumstances you w'd admire the Candor of the People to Capt. Preston. The Town order'd the account of his affair, and the Affidavits to be kept secret here, lest they s'd operate to his Prejudice on his Trial, and tho his false Acc't in the London Papers have been reprinted in ours and may be suppos'd to have some effect in the country and in other Provinces, as a Ballance to w'ch it was mov'd in the late Town Meeting, that our own acc't s'd be despers'd, yet this Motion was negativ'd from Tenderness to him. People seem universally to wish him a fair Trial — Tho a Tendency prevails that from Court Favor the Law will be eluded — and indeed the confidence of the People in the Executive Pow'r is greatly awak'ned in all cases that have a Political Connection.

To Gov^r P.

IX. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

12 Oct^r 70. and Nov 5th

Dear Sir

I am the more obliged to you for the repeated Favors you have done me in Writing this Summer, as my state of Health and visits into the Country have prevented my Letters. Upon my return f'm a late excursion I received y'r Letters² by Capt. White, w'ch I found to be Duplicates of w't Commodore Gambier,³ who arriv'd in our Harbor 2 days ago did me the Honor to convey to me last evening immediately upon his coming to Town. As you have very kindly introduc'd me to this Gentleman, I shall take the first opp.y to pay my respects to him in company with M^r Bawdoin, and s'd be glad to have it in my Pow'r to promote in any measure the ease and agreableness of his Service here. I find you are unwearied in y'r exertions to serve America, and particularly the Province you once so happily Govern'd You will at le[a]st have the homefelt satisfaction that must attend such generous efforts. A Speech said to have been deliver'd the last sessions of Parliam't doing gt Honor to the Massachusetts, f'm our past Services to the Crown, and Strongly pleading that the supreme Military s'd not be separated from

¹ Samuel Hood, a distinguished British naval commander. For his services during the wars of the French Revolution he was made an admiral and created Viscount Hood.

² Refers to the July letters, of which there are three in the King's Library, one with a duplicate. They are printed in Griffin, *loc. cit.*, 274-287.

³ James Gambier, afterwards vice-admiral, from 1770 to 1773 commander-in-chief of the fleet on the North American station. He subsequently served at New York and thence was transferred to Jamaica. His son James was raised to the peerage as Baron Gambier.

the Supreme Civil Command, wch I take to be yours has found its way here, been reprinted, and read with much attention and Pleasure. It will do g't service, as it points out very clearly in some important Instances, the Ground we ought to take: And I could wish with you that we were at all Times wise eno to distinguish *Things f'm Persons*, and to place ourselves on the broadest and most constitutional Bottom. It appears to me of no small Importance that we s'd commit our affairs on yr side the Water to the Conduct of some capable trusty Agents: But w't will be done on this Head is at present quite uncertain — M^r Bawdoin will never accept this Trust, M^r Bollan has the Interest of a great Part of the Council: The House on the other hand notwithstanding his exertions against S^r Fr. do not confide in him upon Acc't of his personal connections here, w'ch I need not particularly mention to you. Some of considerable Influence seem not Sollicitous for any Agent. They say it is alledg'd that one who can do effectual Service must be chosen by the whole Legislature, and this is giving the Governor great Influence in this important Matter, and for this very reason S^r Francis Bernard hinted to ministry an objection to the late Agent of the House, wch objection ought to have operated ag'st the Agent for N. York and others, had there been any Weight in it, and yt they who refuse the negotiations of an Agent for the House only would do the same by one chosen by the whole Legislature w'n the nature of the Business was not agreeable to you, and that such an Agent, with Pow'rs equal to w't were formerly given, might make such concessions on the Part of the Province at this Juncture that would be irretrieveable: They say further, that Experience has shown in the present Disposition of Men the inutility of all remonstrances and negociation. They therefore seem inclin'd to expect their fate with a Sullen Silence: and almost despairing of the Mildness, they w'd found some Hopes in the extremity of Measures. I think however that we ought to do ev'ry thing in our Pow'r to allay the Storm, and scatter the Cloud of Misrepresentation, f'm w'ch we are so severely Threatn'd, and accordingly I agree with M^r Bawdoin in wishing, that you and D^r Franklin might be joint agents, and if this c'd not be otherwise effected, that M^r Bollan might be added. I s'd be glad if it were in my pow'r to do more in this Matter than barely to express my wishes.

The House pinch'd by the expiration of some important Acts relative to Property, and by the apprehension of a heavy Tax falling upon the Constituents for the coming year, voted two days ago by a considerable Majority, to proceed to Business out of the Town of Boston, and at the same Time, chose a committee to frame some resolutions and as a Protest to save as far as may be, the Privilege for w'ch they have contested. I shall give you the earliest notice of these Proceedings.

The Defection of the Merchants in N. York f'm the non-Importation agreement has render'd it impracticable both here and at Philadelphia to maintaining any longer that agreem't. It stood long however considering how much it was oppos'd to private Interest and did not fall

at last it is suppos'd without a secret exertion of Ministerial Influence: The Measure is exhausted, but its effect may long remain. The true spirit of it has been a good deal diffus'd thro the Country and there, according to an observation of yours it flourishes in its native soil. There is a proposal here for forming a society for encouraging Manufactures, and at the same Time entring into agreement for discouraging the consumption of British Goods. — The misfortune of my great Friend Capt. Phillips¹ touches me not a little, who without the least warning is depriv'd of an agreeable Settlem't as he had good reason to suppose for Life, by the introduction of regular Troops into the Castle, without any appointm't to alleviate his loss. He is a worthy Man, and I heartily wish some Provision might be made for him. W't impression this Measure makes here, consider'd in a public view, you may easily conjecture. The Commissioners after contributing to this and some other Purposes, by their pretended Fears, and retiring to the Castle, tho no Insult or Injury was ever offer'd to the Persons or any thing belonging to them, in the Town of Boston. After spending their Summer in a situation that in the season was always agreeable to you, and f'm whence they have freely [*illegible*] and visited their Friends in the country, now talk of passing the winter here. If this were not too serious a Subject. Resum teneatis amici.

Novr 5. I had wrote thus far when I was told the vesel was gone. I have now to inform you that the House have chosen D^r Franklin² for their own Agent for one year only. From the Influence of the councils and from various particular connections of their own they were much divided. Some of them have since told me, it was apprehended, that the Agency for the House alone, and with such limited Pow'r, as the House propos'd would not be acceptable to you. The following Week they chose D^r Lee,³ to act in case of D^r Franklin's Sickness or Detention f'm Business: they have done little since they Sat, for the Time: and their Committee for representing Grievances have not yet reported — The Council were astonish'd at seeing an acc't of w't was said at the Board on the 6 March etc. printed in London attested by the Secretary on oath, and the Seal of the Province, which had been kept a profound Secret here, till it was read in the Pamphlet. The Gentlemen present upon that occasion, have given an account upon oath of w't was spoken, opposite it is said in some material circumstances [to] that of the Secretary. The affair was then consider'd by the whole Board, and the conduct of the Secretary was unanimously resolv'd a high Breach of *Trust* and Privilege, all wch tho not printed here is transmitted to the

¹ John Phillips. In 1772 he was restored to office, receiving the appointment of fort-major of Castle William.

² He succeeded Dennis De Berdt, who had been agent in England for the House since 1765. See Franklin's *Works* (ed. Sparks), VII. 493, note.

³ Arthur Lee, brother of Richard Henry Lee, was successively physician and lawyer. He served in various diplomatic capacities in Europe, and on his return to America was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress. He was a fellow of the Royal Society. See Sparks, *l. c.*, VIII. 57, note; and R. H. Lee's *Life of Arthur Lee*.

Council's Agent. This is another infamous specimen of the means employ'd ag'st this hated and much abus'd Country. L^d Dunmore¹ is arriv'd at N. York, and has 2000 £ sterl^s out of the American Revenue commencing nine Months ago, from the Date of his commission.

I am Sir with respect and Affection

Yours Obedt.

To Gov. Pownall

X. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

BOSTON N. E. 2 Jan^y 1771

Dear Sir

I wrote you in Octr and Novr of the state of our affairs here. We have a good cause, but I'm afraid it has not been conducted altogether to that advantage it might have been. I hope however a kind Providence will at length bring it to an happy Issue. Capt. Preston, and the Soldiers tried for the action of the 5th March, instead of meeting with an unfair or harsh Treatment, have had ev'ry advantage that c'd possibly be given them in a court of Justice. In the Dispositions of the Judges — the appointment of Jurors, — in the Zeal and ability of Lawyers,² — in the examination of Witnesses, and in the Length of the Trials unexampled I believe both in Britain and the Colonies in a Capital case, by w'ch the accused had the fairest opportunity several Days after the evidence for the Crown had been given in, to produce and arrange their own. These Trials must one w'd think wipe off the Imputation of our being so violent and Blood Thirsty a People as not to permit Law and Justice to take place on the side of unpopular Men, and I hope our Friends on your side the Water will make this kind improvem't of them — administration has a very favorable opportunity of adopting gentle Methods respecting the colonies.

The agreements of our Merchs are broken, and the grand objection of being threatned and drove ceases. The Hostile appearance in Europe may perhaps lead men of Influence to embrace such an opp^y and they may think it politic to sever the affections as well as the submission of the People here. — I forgot in my last Letter to Mention my Friend M^r Temple who is now in England and who I heard repeated speak of you with much Regard. He even appear'd to me to wish to do the King's Business in the most prudent and faithful Manner, and with the greatest ease and Satisfaction to the subject. I know He will highly value your Friendship. This will be deliver'd to you by the only son of our Friend M^r Baudoin³ a sensible modest young Gentleman, and of a sweet Disposition, who bids fair to support the Honor of his Family. He leaves

¹ John Murray, fourth Earl of Dunmore. In 1770 he was appointed governor of the colony of New York, to which was subsequently added that of Virginia.

² Captain Preston was defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., and was acquitted.

³ James Bowdoin, only son of Governor Bowdoin, was graduated at Harvard College in 1771. He was subsequently appointed by Thomas Jefferson United States minister to the court of Spain.

his Studies at Cambridg, and takes this voyage chiefly on account of his Health, and would esteem himself greatly honor'd by any notice you should be pleas'd to take him.

I wrote you in my last on the Agency, and shall only say once for all, that I did all in my Pow'r for the sake of my Country to bring you into a share of that Trouble. I am D'r Sir with the greatest Respect, and the most faithful attachment

Your Obedt. Hum.^{ble} Serv't

S. COOPER

To Governor Pownall

XI. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

Sir.

BOSTON N. E. 23 Aug 71

I cannot let Commodore Gambier return to England without giving you my Thanks for Introducing [me] to the acquaintance of so agreeable a Gentleman and worthy officer. His behavior upon this station has been in ev'ry Respect just as you would wish. Ever attentive to the King's Service, He has enter'd into no Parties. He has treated with great Humanity and Politeness all who have had any Business to transact with him. He has befriended and oblig'd the Trade in ev'ry Point consistent with his Duty, as a Commander, and the order and Tranquility He has preserv'd in the Squadron and Town have been truly remarkable. I have heard the most judicious and experienc'd Gentlemen among us and those capable of making the longest Recollection affirm they never knew an equal Instance. Upon these Acc'ts his early and unexpected Departure is regretted, and he leaves Sentiments of Respect and Gratitude in the Breasts of all Parties. The Merchants have given him a public Testimony of such sentiments in their address, and the Town w'd have done the same, had it not been obstructed by some few, who tho't very injudiciously in my opinion that the Service c'd not be seperated f'm the Man, and that such a step must imply some kind of acquiescence in the stationing of a Fleet in this Port. From the same Quarter your Letters etc. were injudiciously treated, and your Interest for the Agency oppos'd because of your conceding the Rights of Parliament etc. Not to mention the unkind Treatment, which in this and several other Instances I have receiv'd from the same Persons. I w'd pride myself however in any thing of that kind that may occur to me from a Regard to the cause of Justice, Candor, and Friendship. I s'd tire you were I to enter into a Detail. Some Things I have mention'd to Commodore Gambier as your Friend. It gives me great satisfaction to reflect that I have ever endeavor'd to improve the Friendly communications you have been pleas'd to make me in these tempestuous Times to your Honor, and the Service of my Country, and that I have in no Instance forgot the Confidence with which you have honor'd me.

I am sir, with Gt. Esteem and Affection

Yours

To G. Pownall

S. C.

XII. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

BOSTON N. E. 14th Novr. 71.

Dear Sir

After writing you several Times without hearing from you, or knowing that you receiv'd my Letters, I wrote again by Commodore Gambier : since which I receiv'd a Duplicate of yours a long Time after it was dated, which came to me by the Southern Post : and a few days ago another came to me thro the same channel of July 26th¹ I know not by w't Fatality our Letters have thus miscarried or have been delay'd. Those however now Mentioned Made me happy in the assurance of a Friendship and Correspondence from w'ch I have receiv'd great Pleasure and advantage.

It is not true as you have been inform'd that the Spirit of the assembly and of the People is totally alter'd, and that they w'd now gladly receive as a Favor, and ask and hope upon that Tenure w't they before claim'd as a Right. Such Representations tend only to deceive, and mislead Governm't. The Tone of the House, on ev'ry Point of Privilege is as firm as ever : and tho an high Ferment cannot be expected to continue long among the People and the irritation into w'ch they were thrown has abated, yet their inward sentiments are not alter'd, but by far the greater Part have a settled Persuasion that we are in a state of oppression that our most important Privileges are violated, that our Parliam't here ought to come between the Sovereign and the American Subject, just in the same Manner that the British Parliament does with respect to the British Subject, and that whatever takes place contrary to this is (at home an Infringement upon the Prorogative of our Sovereign, who has a right to govern his Dominions here uncontroll'd and even un-influenc'd by either House of Parliam't in Britain) and in America is the Meer effect of Pow'r and not the result of reason or [of] the Constitution. This is the Sentiment w'ch the late Disputes have at length produc'd, and w'ch by long attention to, and frequent Discussion of our Public Grievances does now generally prevail, there being few except those who are Influenc'd by Places and Pensions, and those who do not think at all, but what have adopted it. To convince you that I here give a true representation, and that the People, however tir'd they may seem of Complaining and Clamoring to no effect have yet at Bottom a sense of the Injuries their Rights have receiv'd, and are ready to express this sense as occasion may provoke them.

I will mention to you what has lately taken Place among us, w'ch tho it may seem small in itself, and of no great consequence, is sufficient to indicate the prevailing Temper. The Governor's Proclamation for an Annual Thanks^s. was to have been read in our churches last Sunday, in w'ch among other things, we are call'd upon to give thanks to Heav'n for the *Continuance of our Privileges*. This was deem'd by the People an open Insult upon them, and a prophane Mockery of Heav'n. The general cry was, we have lost our Most essential Rights, and shall be com-

¹ Printed in Griffin, *l. c.*, 290.

manded to give Thanks for what does not exist. Our congregations applied to the several Ministers in Town praying it might not be read as usual, and declaring if we offer'd to do it, they w'd rise up and leave the Chh. And tho no little Pains was taken by the Governor's Friends to get over this Difficulty and to explain away the sense of the clause by saying all were agreed we had some Privileges left, and that no more was meant by the Public Act than such Privileges as we in Fact enjoy'd, all w'd not avail. Had the Ministers inclined it was not in their Pow'r to read it, a circumstance w'ch never before [took] Place among us. It was read only in D^r Pemberton's Church, of which the Governor is a Member. He did it with confusion, and Numbers turn'd their Backs upon him and left the Chh in great indignation. It was I believe thro want of attention, and an opportunity of consulting one another, read by a Majority of Ministers in the Country Parishes. One Association of the Clergy happening however to meet at the Time, agreed to reject it: and it has been read by few Ministers, if any who have not declar'd either their Sorrow for so doing, or that they read it as a public Act, without adopting the Sentiments: and that it is their intention on the appointed day, w'ch is next Thursday, to give Thanks for the Privileges we enjoy, and implore of the Almighty God the restoration of w't we have lost. It has been said that the Governor's intention in adopting this obnoxious Clause, w'ch tho formerly a customary clause, has been omitted ever since the Stamp Act was to convey an Idea to your side of the water, an Idea that the People were become Sensible that they were really free and happy. If this was his intention He was unlucky in the meanes, and I believe wishes from His Heart He had never made the experiment. I mention these circumstances so particularly in Confidence and because nothing has of late occur'd among us from which you may so well Judge of the Sentiments of the People. I had almost forgot to mention another Clause in the Proclamation w'ch respect[s] the *Increase of our Trade*, which under our present Embarrassments, and the enormous Extention of the Pow'r of Admiralty Courts, was almost as offensive as the other.

You cannot but observe Sir upon the whole how different the Sentiments of the People and the state of things among us are now from what they were when you govern'd us: and w't unhappy consequences the late Measures of Government have produc'd, what seed of contention are sow'd for future Times, when new events in Britain and America will arise. I shall take care to inform you of Things as they turn up, and am with great Esteem and Attachment

Your Obedt Hum^{ble} Servt

To Governor Pownall.

S. COOPER.

XIII. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

Dear Sir

BOSTON 25th March 73.

The first and Second Paragraphs of the Letter to D^r Franklin of 15 March. 73.¹ transcribed and then proceed as follows. —

¹ The letter is printed in Sparks, VIII. 36. The opening paragraphs to which Dr. Cooper alludes, refer to his own health and the recent appointment of Lord Dartmouth as secretary of state for the colonies.

Whether the Governor will be thanked by administration for his Speech¹ at the opening of the last Session of the General Court you can best tell. It is certain he has gain'd nothing by it here. The Replies of both Houses are read with High Approbation in more Colonies than one; and the People are more confirm'd in their sentiments and encourag'd to maintain them. With all his connections and abilities He is not able to alter the sentiments of this People; and reconcile them to the Measures of Governm't; and the more openly and Strenuously He exerts himself, his Influence and ability to promote such a Purpose becomes the less. This is obvious from the Una[ni]mity of both Houses as well as the Towns. He was obliged, He publicly declares, by the Town of Boston to bring on such an open Discussion. But might he not have expres'd his Dislike of their Proceedings without putting both Houses to the Necessity of declaring as they have done, and giving up by their Silence upon such a Challenge, the cause of their country. It was precisely this situation that in a great measure led the council I imagine to go so far as they did, and bro't them to declare an agreement with the House in the main Principles.

The Governor having refus'd for some Time to pass the Grant for the Salary of the Judges for last year, tho't proper to sign it, upon which the House made another Grant for the year to come, which He did not allow; so that the Matter is not yet com[pleted?].

I have often recollected your predictions and Foresight in wishing and endeavoring for a settlement of these unhappy disputes several years ago. Time has verify'd the Truth of what you then observed, that the longer this was delayed the more difficult it would become. Had a composition been early made, only by annihilating Inovations, and recuring to the old course, which Time and Practice had sanctified, a veneration for the Supreme Authority of Parliament would have been unavoidably left upon the minds of the People Sufficient to have Answer'd all the Purposes that a wise and moderate administration could desire, which the Influence of the Crown, from the great Pow'r reserved by Charter to its representatives would have secretly and gradually extended itself within this Province. But administration misled by artful and interested men here, negotiating for Salaries Perquisites and Pensions has kept up the Contention, and instead of diminishing has added to the Grievances complain'd of. By this Means, the Matter of Right, which if it had slept had been more safe, has been upon the anvill perpetually, both in private conversation and printed Discussion. The Subject has been attended to for a number of years by an inquisitive and sensible People; It has been turn'd round in ev'ry Circle and view'd on all sides. The Effect has been a thoro and almost universal Persuasion that for a People to pay Taxes and be govern'd by Law to w'ch they do not consent is

¹ "Upon the convening of the General Assembly, the governor opened it with a long speech in defence of the absolute supremacy of Parliament over the colonies, inviting both Houses to offer what they had to object against this principle." From the same letter, *L. c.*, 37.

absolute Slavery ; consequently, the British Parliament, according to Burlamqui's¹ Distinction, whatever *external Obligation* it may retain among us, has lost the internal Obligation. The servants of the Crown ought to have foreseen this ; and guarded ag'st it, instead of wch, while it has been growing up before their eyes, they have done evry Thing if not intentionally, yet in true Tendency to promote it. There has been a surprizing coincidence of Measure and events to such an Effect : and I should have tho't at the Time you left us, the revolution I now see in the Sentiments and Hearts of the People next to impossible. You know what has been — I write what is, without pretending to [predict?] what will be, only that I shall ever remain, with great esteem and affection yours, Obliged and Most Obedt hum^{ble} Servt

S. C.

I write in Confidence as I have ever done.
To Governor Pownall.

XIV. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

BOSTON 17 Aug 1774

Dear Sir

My Retirement into the Country this Spring and Summer must be my apology for no sooner answering your last Favor.² Y'r Advice is sound and good to preserve a Moderate and pacific Spirit, but under our peculiar circumstances accumulated Grievances ha[r]d to be practis'd. The Act for blockading the Port of Boston has been executed beyond the Rigor of the Act itself. The Fuel and Victuals are allow'd by it to be bro't us by water. would you believe that our coasters with wood have been not only obliged to stop at Salem for a Clearance, but totally to unload and reload in the way hither : and 240 Quintals sent by our Kind Friends at Marblehead to the distressed poor of this place were not allow'd to be water born not even over Charlestown Ferry, but transported round the country thro Roxbury in Waggon ; and yet these are Facts on w'ch you may rely.

We have now a Vice Admiral³ and a Fleet in our Harbor, totally shutting up not only the entrance at the Light House, but 12 or 13 small Ports within that Point, such as Hingham, Weymouth etc., and allowing no Intercommunication between any of them. How much this affects the whole Province, the other Provinces, and what effect it must have on the Trade of Britain, you may easily judg. Even Salem severely feels the want of the Port for the Sale of their Cargoes etc. Lord North's Coasters, as the common people call the Trucks and Waggon carrying Goods between us and that Port, are constantly met on the Road, sometimes to the amount of 40 or 50 in a day. We have 4 Regiments encamp'd on the Common with a large train of Artillery : one on Fort

¹ Jean Jacques Burlamaqui, the eminent Swiss publicist, author of *Principes du Droit Naturel*, Geneva, 1747, and *Principes du Droit Politique*, Geneva, 1751.

² Printed in Griffin, *l. c.*, 299.

³ Samuel Graves, afterwards admiral, commander-in-chief on the North American station. In 1776 he was superseded.

hill: one at the castle, another lately arriv'd f'm N. Scotia is station'd at Salem. The People endure all with an astonishing Calmness and Resolution; neither dismay'd nor tumultuous; supported and encourag'd by the Sympathy and generous Presents from all Quarters of the Country and from our Sister Colonies. These Presents are distributed by a Committee for employing the poor as the reward of Labor. Our Streets are paving public Works in Projection, and ships to be built and sold as a circulating Stock. How long this scene will last, God only knows. Our cause is regarded as a common one by all the Colonies. The most distant, the Carolinas and Virginia seem the most ardent. Our Delegates with those of N. Hampshire sat out a few days ago for the Congress to be held at Philadelphia 1st Sept. All the Colonies f'm Carolina to N. Hampshire will be represented there. All eyes are turn'd towards that important Assembly; and its Decision will [come] with great Weight.

The long expected Bills for vacating the the¹ Charter etc. arriv'd about 10 days ago. I will make no reflections upon them. A number have refus'd to qualify as Councillors. Whether they will change their minds Time will discover. Among these are Capt Erving, Danforth, Russell, Noyes, Vassal, Green, and others. I can hear at present of not more than 12 that have taken the Oath. But a number live at a Distance, and have not yet had an opportunity of discovering their Inclination. Col. Hancock is dismissed f'm his Command of the Cadets upon w'ch the Company sent their Colors to the Governor and dissolv'd.

I make no Conjectures of Futurity. We are in a critical Situation and must wait the event. Perhaps America may yet be sav'd: Heaven grant it

I am etc. yours

S. COOPER.²

To Govr. Pownall

XV. SAMUEL COOPER TO THOMAS POWNALL.

BOSTON N. ENGLAND. 28. March 1777

Sir,

Believing it would not be disagreeable to you, to hear I am well, and have still a respectful and affectionate Remembrance of you, after a long Intermission of writing to England, I embrace this opportunity of sending you a Line, returning you my Thanks for your last Letter, and the Book that accompanied it, tho upon the Subject of both present circumstances will not allow me to say a Word.

If this short acknowledgment ever comes to you it will be delivered by Mr Hixon, a Native of Montserrat, and whose Estate lies in that Island — He was bound on a Plan of Business to London, by the way of

¹ *Sic.*

² A letter from Cooper to Pownall (King's MSS. 203), dated Boston, 9 September 1774, is here omitted, being a duplicate of one of the same date sent to Franklin, and printed in Sparks, *l. c.*, VIII. 132.

Cork, and taken by an American Vessel of War, and brought to this Port, where he has resided ever since last October: In the mean Time he has married my only Daughter and Child. I should not have consented to this Alliance had I not found good Reason to esteem him a Gentleman of Probity and Worth. Your advice, in any Circumstance in which he may need it will particularly oblige me: He can give you a general account of the present Situation of Affairs in America. It will give me great Pleasure to hear of your Welfare. May Heaven grant you all good Things!

I am Sir, with much Esteem,

Your obedient hum^l Servant

Governor Pownall.

S. C.